FRIDAY, APRIL 28, 1815.

## N EXPOSIMON GAUSES, AND CHARACTER OF THE LATE WAR WITH G. BRITAIN

[Continued]

All the precauti na of the Amerigo government were, nevertheless, officemal, and the assurances of the British government were in uo instate, verified. The outrage of impressured was again, indiscriptionteperpetrated upon the crew of every American vessel, and on every sea he enormity of blockades, establish ed b an order in council, without a legitimate object, and maintained by morder in council, without the ap plication of a competent force, was nore and more developed. The rate prominated the rule of the war of 1756,' was revived in an offected sole of moderation; but in a smen of more rigorous execution." The lives, the liberty, the forumes and the bappiness of the citizens of the United States, engaged in the pursuits of pavigacion and commerce, were once more subjected to the violence and cupidity of the British cruisers. And, in brief, so grievous, so in olum rable had the afflictions of the nation become, that the people with one mind and one voice called foudly up a their government for redress an protection; the congress of the U Sutes, participating in the feelings md rescutments of the time, usged me the executive magistrate, the accessity of an immediate demand of reparation from Great Britain ; while the same patrioric spirit whi h and opposed British usurpation in 1793 and encountered French hosti by in 1798, was again pledged, in

that arose in 1805. Amidit these scenes of injustice on the one hand, and of reclamation on the other, the American government preserved its equinimity and its frmnes. It beheld much in the con duct of F ance, and of her ally, Spain. to provoke reprisals. It belield m re a the conduct of Great Britain that led unavoidath (as had often been avowed) to the last resort of arms. It beheld in the temper of the nation, all that was requisite to justify an immediate selection of Great Britain, is the object of a declaration of war. and it could not but behold in the policy of France, the strongest motive to acquire the United States, as in associate in the existing conflict. let these considerations did not then more than at any former crisis, suboue the fortifude, or mislead the Judgment of the American government: but in perfect consistency with ils neutral, as well as its pacific system, it demanded by remonstrances with France & Spain; and it sought the preservation of peace, by negociatron with Great Britain.

arry variety of form, to the mainte-

mice of the national honor and inde

pendence, during the arduous trial

It has been shown, that a treaty proposed, emphatically, by the British minister, resident at Philadelphia, as the means of drying up every source of complaint and irritation, upon the head of in pressment, was deemed utterly inadmissable,' by the American government, because it tid not sufficiently provide for that gecta it has, also, been shown, that another treaty, proposed by the American minister at London, waaid mide, because the British gov enment, while it was willing to retinquish, expressly, impressments from American vessels, on the high seas, lasisted upon an exception, in refer-

ence to the narrow seas, claimed as a part of the British domain ; and ex perience demonstrated, that although be spoliations committed upon the American commerce, might admit of reparation, by the payment of a pecuplary equivalent; yet, consulting the honor, and the feelings of the nation, it was impossible to receive satisfaction for the cruelties of impressment, by any other means, than by an entire discontinuance of the practice.-When, therefore, the envoys extraor dinary were appointed in the yea: 1806, to pegociate with the British governmen , every authority was given, for the purposes of conciliation; nay, an act of congress, prohibiting the importation of certain anticles of Brf. tish manufacture into the U. States. was suspended, in proof of a friendly disposition; but it was declared, that the suppression of impressment, and he definition of bio kades, were absolutely indispensible; and that, without a provision against impressments, no treaty should be concluded.' The American curbys accordingly, took care to communicate to the British commissioners, helimitations of their powers. Influenced at the same. time, by a sincere desire to terminate differences between the two nations; knowing the solicitude of their govcrament, to relieve its seafaring citizens from actual sufferance; listening with confidence, to assurances and exa planations of the British commission eis, in a sense favorable to their wish es ;; and judging from a state of infor mation that gave no immediate cause to doubt the sufficiency of those as urances and explanations; the envoys, rather than terminate the negociarion without any arrangement, were willing to rely upon the efficacy of a sub stitute, for a positive article in the treaty, to be submitted to the consideration of their government, as this, according to the declaration of the B'iush commissioners, was the only arrangement they were permitted, at that time, to propose or to allow -The substitute was presented in the form of a note from the B itish commissioners to the Ameri an envoys, and contained a pledge, that instructions had been given, and should be repeated and enforced, for the observance of the greatest caution in the impressing of British seamen; that the strictest are should be when to design of such conduct, it would be preserve the citizens of the U. States from any mole-tation or injury; and that immediate and prompt reciress should be aff rded, upon any repre-

Inasmuch, however, as the treaty contained to provision against impressment, and it was seen by the government, when the treaty was under consideration for ratification, that the pledge contained in the substitute was not complied with, but, on the contrary, that the impressments were continued, with undiminished violence, in the American seas, so long after the alleaged date of the instructions, which were to arrest them; that the practical inethercy of the substitute could not be doubted by the government here, the ratification of the treaty was necessarily decided; and it has since appeared, that after a change of the British ministry had its ken place, it was declared by the secretary for toreign affairs that no engagements were entered into, on the part of his majesty, as connected with he treaty, except such as appear upon

aentation of injury sustained by them.'

the face of its The American government, however, with unabiting solic tude for peace, urged an immediate renewal of the pegociations on the basis of the abortive treaty, until the course was peremptorily declared, by the British government, to be wholly inadmis-

sible." But, independent of the silence of

of ce the act of congress passed the 18th of April, 1806; and the act suspending it, passed the 19th of December, 1806. See the note of the British commission

ers, dated the 8th of Nov. 1806. s See Mr. Caming's le ter to the American envoys, dated the 27th Oct. 1807. a See the same letter.

the proposed treaty, upon the great tonic of American complaint, and of the view which has been taken of the projected sub litute; the contempora seous declaration of the British commissioners, delivered by the command of their sovereign, & to which the A. nerican envoys refused to make nemselves a party, or to give the slightest degree of sanction, was regarded by the American government, is ample cause of rejection. In recreace to the French decree, which had been issued at Berlin, on the 21st of November, 1806, it was declared that if France should carry the threats of that decree into execution, and, if neutral nations, contrary to all expectation, should acquiesce in such u urpations, his majesty might, probably, be compelled, however reluctantly, to retaliate in his just defence, and to adopt, in regard to the commerce of neutral nations with his enemies, the same measures, which those nations should have permitted to be enforced against their commerce with his subjects;' 'that his majesty could not enter into the stipulations of the present treaty, without an explanation from the United States of their intentions, or a reservation on the part of his majesty, in the case above mentioned, if it should ever occur, and that without a formal abandonment, or tacit relinquishment of the unjust | betray the want of that conciliatory prefensions of France; or without such conduct and assurances upon the part of the United States, as should give security to his majesty, that they would not submit to the French innovations, in the established system of maritime law, his majesty would not consider in meet bound by the present signature of his commissioners, to raify the treaty, or precluded from adopting such me sures as might seem necessary for counteracting the designs of the enemy."

The reservation of a power, to invalidate a solemn treaty, at the plea sure of one of the parties, and the menaces of inflicting punishments woon the United States, for the offences of another nation, proved, in the event, a preclude to the scenes of violence, which Great Britain was then about to display, and which it would have been improper for the American negociatary were wanting to explain the real days from the date of the treaty, and before it was possible for the British government, nay, even before the A. merican government had itself heard of that decree, the destruction of American commerce was commenced by the order in council of the 7th of January, 1807, which announced, that no vessel should be permitted to trade from one port to another, both which ports should belong to, or be in the possession of France, or her allies : or should be so far under their ontrol, as that British vessels might

not trade freely thereat,'m During the whole period of this negociation, which did not heally close until the British government declared n the month of October, 1807, that negociation was no longer admissible, the course pursued by the British quadron st tioned more immediately on the American coast, was in the enemy, and to retort upon them the exfreme vexatious, predatory, and evils of their own injustice,'e is enti hostile. The territorial jurisdiction of the United States, extending, upon the principles of the law of pations, at least a league over the adjacent ocean, was totally disregarded and contemued. Vessels employed in the coasting trade, or in the business of the pilot and the fishe man, were objects of incessant violence; their perty rargoes were plundered; and some of their scanty crews were often either impressed, or wounded, or killed by the force of British frig tes. Bi tish ships of war hovered, in warlike display upon the coast : block-

I See he note of the British commissioners dated, the 31st Dec. 1806. See hiso the answer of Mesars. Monroe and Principley to that

m See the order in council of January 7.

so that no vessel could enter or depart in, salety; penetrated the bays and rivers, and even unchone! in the harbors of the United States, to exercise a jurisdiction of impressment; threatened the towns and vi ages with conflagration; and wantonly discharged musketry, as well as cannon, upon the inhabitants of an open and unprotected country. The neutrality of the American territory was violated on every occasion; and, at last, the American government was doomed to suffer the greatest indignity which could be offered to a sove reign and independent nation, in the ever memorable attack of a British 50 gun siin, udder the countenance of. the British squadron, anchored within the waters of the United States, upon the frigate Chesapeake, peaceaffly prosecuting a distant voyage. The British government affected from time to time, to disapprove and condemn these outrages; but the officers wile perpetrated them were generally applauded; if tried, they were acquitted: if removed from the American station, it was only to be promoted in another station; & if atonement were offered, as in the fragrant instance of the frigate Chesapeake, the atonement was so ungracious in the manper, and so tardy in the result, as to spirit which ought to have character-

But the American government. roothing the exasperated spirit of the people, by a proclamation which interdicted the entrance of all British armed vessels into the harbors and waters of the United States, neither commenced hostilities against Great Britain; nor sought a defensive alliance with France; nor relaxed in its' arm but conciliatory efforts, to enforce the claims of justice, upon the honor of both nations.

The rival-ambition of G. Britain and France, now, however approached the coasummation, which, involv ing the destruction of all neutral rights upon an avowed principle of action, could not fail to render an actual state of war, comparatively, more safe and more prosperous, than the imaginary state of peace, to which peutrals were tors to anticipate. For, if a commen- reduced. The just and impartial conduct of a neutral nation ceased to be its shield and its safeguard, when the found in the fact, that within eight conduct of the beiligerent powers towards each other, became the only criterion of the law of war. The wrong committed by one of the belligerent powers was thus made the signal for the perpetration of a greater wrong by the other: and if the American government complained to both powers, their answer, although it never denied the causes of complaint, invariably retorted an idle and of ensive inquiry into the priority of their respective aggressions; or each demanded a course of resistance against its antagenist which was calculated to prostrate the American right of self government, and to coerce the United States, against their interest and their policy, into becoming an associate in the war. But the American government never did and never can admit that a beligerent power, 'in taking steps to restrain the violence of its tled to disturb and to destroy the rights of a neutral power, as recognized and established by the law of netions. It was impossible, indeed, the the real features of the miscalled refaliatory system should be long masked from the world; when G.B. itaio even in her acts of professed retaliation, declared that France was unable to execute the hostile depunciations

" See the evidence of these facts reported to congress in November, 1806.

See the documents respecting capt. Love of the Driver, capt. Wintby. of the Leander, and captain

Saladso, the correspondence respecting the frigate Chesapease, with Mr. Canning, at condon; with Mrs Hose, at Washington; with Mr. Erskine, at Washington; and with

. See the proclamation of the 2d of July

aded the ports of the United States Hof her decrees; ? and when Great Britain herself, unblushingly entered into he same commerce with her enemy (through the medium of forgeries, perfuries and licences) from which she had interdicted unoffending neutrais. The pri le of naval superiority and the cravings of commercial momonoly, sgave, after al', the impulse and direction to the councils of the British cabinet; while the vast, altho visionary projects of France, furnished ed occisions and prefexts for ac omplishing the objects of those councils. The British minister, resident at

> Wa hington, in the year 1804, having disting the go zed, in the name of his sovereign, the legitimate princis ples of blockade, the American grive erement received, with some surprize and solicitude, the su dessive notifications of the 9th of August, 1904, the 3th of April, 1806, and in ite parti ularly of the 16th of May, 1805, announcing, by the last notification, a blockade of the coast, rivers and ports, from the river Elbe to the port of Brest, both inclusive.'s In none of the notified instances of blockade were the principles that had been recognized in 1804 adopted and pursus ed, and it will be recollected by all Europe, that neither as the time of the not fication of the 16 h of May 1806; nor at the time of excepting the Bibe and Ems from the operation of that notification it nor at any time during the continuance of the French war, was there an arlequate naval force actually applied by Great Britain, for the purpose of maintaining a blackade from the river E be to the port of B. est., It was then, in the language of the day, 'a mere paper blockade;' a minifest infraction of the law of nations; and an act of peculiar injustice to the United States. s the only neutral power against which it would practically operate. But whatever may have been the sense of the American government on the occasion; and whatever might be the disposition to avoid making this the ground of an open runture with Great Britain, the care assumed a character of the highest interest. when, independent of its own injurious consequences, Trance in the Berlin decree of the 21st of November 1804, recited as a chief cause for placing the British islands in a state of blockade, that Great Britisin declares blockaded, places before which she has not a single vessel of war; and even places which her united forces would be incapable of blockading, such as cutire coasts, and a whole empire : an unequalled abuse of the right of blo ka ie, that had no other object than to increapt the communications of different nations; and to extend the commerce and industry of England, upon the rum of those nations, & The American government aims not, and never has aimed at the justification either of Great Britain or of France, in their career of crimination and regrimination; but it is of ome importance to observe, that if the blockade of May 1906; was an unlawtu' blockade, and if the right of retals iation arose with the bret unlawful attack made by a belligerent power upon ocutral rights, Great Britain has ver to answer to minkind, according to the rule of her own acknowledge ment, for all the calamities of the reteliatory warfare. Kronce, whether right or wrong, made the Brisishays. tem of blockade the foundation of the Berlin decree; and France had an equal right with Great Britain to demand from the United States an opposition to every encroschment upon the privileges of the neutral character. it is enough, however, on the present occasion, for the American govern-

Inted States, of the 16th and 14th of Febru-

17, 1866; and the resolution of the house

See Mr. Liston's letter, to the Secretar

of state, dated the 4th of February, 1800;

and the letter of Mr. Pickering, secretary of

sate, to the President of the United States,

e representatives of the United States.

thed the 20th of February, 1809.

<sup>.</sup> See the orders in council of the 7th of January, 1807. 9' See the orders in council of the 7th of January, 1007.

<sup>&</sup>quot; See ford Harrowby's note to Mr. Monroe, dated the 9th of August 1804, and Mr. Por's notes to dr. Morroe, dated respectively the th of April, and 16th May 1806. . See lord Howick's note to Me Monroe.

dated the 25th heptember, 1850. . See the sicing decree of the 21st of No-

vember, 1800.

See the orders in council of the 24th of 18e3, and 17th of August, 1805.

See the incoronis of Buston, New-York, Madelphia, Baltimore, &c. presented to ongress in the end of the year 1805, and the eginging of the year 1800. bee the resolutions of the Senate of the